

Message Text

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ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-08 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-01

INR-05 L-01 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-02

SS-15 USIA-06 OMB-01 AID-05 NIC-01 IO-04 DRC-01 /072 W

----- 020632

R 170810Z OCT 74

FM AMCONSUL KARACHI

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8433

INFO AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD

AMEMBASSY KABUL

AMCONSUL LAHORE

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

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E. O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, PINS, PINT, PK, AF

SUBJECT: BHUTTO ANNOUNCES END OF BALUCHISTAN INSURGENCY

REF: ISLAMABAD 8907, 9714, 9716 (NOTAL)

SUMMARY: CONCLUDING HIS THREE-DAY BALUCHISTAN TOUR, PRIME MINISTER BHUTTO ANNOUNCED IN AN OCTOBER 15 STATEMENT AND A PRESS CONFERENCE THE NEXT DAY THAT "ORGANIZED RESISTANCE TO LEGAL AUTHORITY IN BALUCHISTAN...HAS COME TO AN END". CLAIMING THAT OVER 5,000 MARRI AND SOME MENGAL DISSIDENTS HAD BEEN CAPTURED OR SURRENDERED BY HIS OCTOBER 15 DEADLINE, BHUTTO GRANTED THEM "FULL AMNESTY", WHICH HE ALSO OFFERED TO REMAINING DIE-HARDS. BHUTTO REVEALED PUBLICLY AND JUSTIFIED ARMY ACTION AGAINST THE INSURGENTS. SPEAKING IN MARRI AND MENGAL AREAS, BHUTTO STRESSED THE THEMES OF RECONCILIATION, ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, AND THE DEMISE OF THE SARDARI SYSTEM. HE LINKED OPPOSITION PARTIES WITH AFGHANISTAN, AND

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RULED OUT ANY CONCESSIONS TO HIS INEPT DOMESTIC

RIVALS. KABUL-DIRECTED SUBVERSION AND SABOTAGE DREW
BHUTTO'S IRE. MOSCOW WAS EXONERATED. END SUMMARY

1. AS PRESAGED REFTELS AND FOLLOWING A BREATHELESS PRESS
BUILD-UP, THE PRIME MINISTER ON OCTOBER 15, THE DAY HIS
AMNESTY OFFER TO BALUCHISTAN DISSIDENTS EXPIRED, ANNOUNCED
THE END OF THE "ORGANIZED INSURGENCY" IN THE PROVINCE.
"I AM GLAD", HE SAID, "THAT MY CALL OF AUGUST 2...HAS
EVOKED A POSITIVE RESPONSE FROM THE INSURGENT TRIBESMEN".
CLAIMING THE CAPTURE OR SURRENDER OF 5,000 MARRIS,
INCLUDING 40 NAMED LESSER SARDARS, AND OF SOME MENGALS,
BHUTTO REGRETTED THAT THEY HAD BEEN MISLED BY THEIR
TRIBAL LEADERS AND GRANTED THEM "FULL AMNESTY". BHUTTO
FORESAW "ONLY THE TASK OF...APPREHENDING CERTAIN
HOSTILE RINGLEADERS", ANMING 21 OF THEM, INCLUDING
SHAHZADA SALMAN AHMEDZAI, THE BALUCHISTAN GOVERNOR'S
NEPHEW. THE PRIME MINISTER SAID THEIR CASES WOULD BE
"SYMPATHETICALLY CONSIDERED" IF THEY GAVE THEMSELVES
UP BY DECEMBER 15. IN HIS PRESS CONFERENCE THE FOLLOWING
DAY, BHUTTO WARILY DECLINED TO ESTIMATE THE NUMBER OF
ARMED DISSIDENTS STILL ACTIVE.

2. BHUTTO REVEALED FOR THE FIRST TIME ARMY COUNER-
INSURGENCY ACTIVITY IN BALUCHISTAN AND ISSUED A PLAUSIBLE
JUSTIFICATION FOR IT. IN A PARTISAN REVIEW OF THE BALUCHISTAN
BIDDING, BHUTTO RECALLED THAT HE HAD ORIGINALLY PERMITTED
AN OPPOSITION COALITION MINISTRY THERE AND EVEN APPOINTED
A GOVERNOR FROM THE OPPOSITION GROUP. THE COALITION
MINISTRY HAD "CREATED CONDITIONS OF TRIBAL WARFARE" AND
HAD BEEN MOVING TOWARD SECESSION, ITS LEADERS' GOAL SINCE
AYUB'S DAY; IN MAY 1973 THE THEN GOVERNOR (AKBAR BUGTI)
CALLED FOR THE ARMY, WHICH BHUTTO SENT. BHUTTO REGRETTED
THAT HIS APRIL 14, 1974, OFFER OF PARTIAL AMNESTY FOR
INSURGENTS, ALSO LIMITING THE ARMY TO A DEFENSIVE POSTURE,
"WAS MISCONSTRUED AS A SIGN OF WEAKNESS". THIS "COMPELLED
THE GOVERNMENT TO LAUNCH SUITABLE COUNTER-MEASURES".
BHUTTO CALLED THE COUNTER-INSURGENCY CAMPAIGN "NOT A PUNITIVE
ACTION BUT ESSENTIALLY A CONCILIATION CAMPAIGN" DESIGNED
TO ASSIST THE CIVIL ADMINISTRATION IN RESTORING ORDER IN
THE MARRI AND MENGAL AREAS; CAPTURE HOSTILE ELEMENTS AND
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ARMS; MAINTAIN COMMUNICATION LINES; TAKE "WHATEVER
ACTION WAS NECESSARY AGAINST THE HOSTILE ELEMENTS"; AND
HELP THE CIVIL AUTHORITIES WITH "DEVELOPMENT AND UPLIFT
PROJECTS" IN THE TWO DISTURBED AREAS. BHUTTO WAS "GLAD"
THAT THESE MEASURES AND THE GOOD RESPONSE TO HIS AUGUST 2
OFFER OF AMNESTY TO THOSE SURRENDERING BY OCTOBER 15 HAD
BROUGHT THE INSURGENCY EFFECTIVELY TO AN END. (THE GOP
PLANS TO ISSUE A "WHITE PAPER" OCTOBER 19 GIVING FURTHER

DETAILS ON THE BALUCHISTAN SITUATION, WHICH WILL BE POUCHED TO APPROPRIATE ADDRESSEES.)

3. BHUTTO ARGUED THAT HIS SUCCESS IN FOSTERING INFRASTRUCTURE AND DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS AND CONCILIATING INSURGENTS HAD PROVOKED AFGHANISTAN AND HIS LOCAL RIVALS TO "INTERNATIONALIZE" THE BALUCHISTAN ISSUE. HE EMPHASIZED THAT ON THE DAY THE AFGHAN UNGA SPEAKER ATTACKED PAKISTAN OVER ITS BALUCHISTAN POLICIES, "CERTAIN INDIVIDUALS" (OF THE OPPOSITION UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT) PRESENTED MEMORANDA TO FOREIGN ENVOYS IN ISLAMABAD ALLEGING PAKISTANI "ATROCITIES" IN BALUCHISTAN. BHUTTO SAID THAT THE SUCCESSFUL REACHING OF "A TURNING POINT" IN BALUCHISTAN HAD PROVOKED "AGENTS" ACTING "UNDER FOREIGN INSPIRATION" TO DETONATE BOMBS ELSEWHERE IN PAKISTAN.

4. WARMING TO THIS THEME IN HIS OCTOBER 16 PRESS CONFERENCE, BHUTTO WAS QUOTED BY THE PRESS AS SAYING THAT AFGHANISTAN HAD TRAINED SOME BALUCH DISSIDENTS AND WAS BEHIND BOMB BLASTS IN OTHER PROVINCES. BHUTTO EXPLICITLY RULED OUT TALKS WITH KABUL AND WITH THE INCARCERATED BUT NOT THE "MODERATE" NATIONAL AWAMI PARTY (NAP) LEADERS. HE SAID FLATLY HE WOULD NOT RELEASE THE JAILED NAP LEADERS AND DECLINED TO COMMENT ON WHEN THEY MIGHT BE TRIED. IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION, BHUTTO EMPHASIZED THAT THE USSR WAS NOT REPEAT NOT INVOLVED IN BALUCHISTAN. (FURTHER BHUTTO COMMENTS ON HIS MOSCOW VISIT AND SECRETARY KISSINGER'S ISLAMABAD STOPOVER REPORTED SEPTEL.)

5. BHUTTO HELD SEVERAL MEETINGS WITH THE LEADERS OF WHAT PASS FOR RULING PARTY (PPP) ORGANIZATIONS IN THE PROVINCE. HE WELCOMED TO THE PARTY FOLD JHALAWAN CHIEF LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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SARDAR DODA KHAN ZARAKZAI AND ONE OF THE GOVERNOR'S NUMEROUS SONS. HE DISSOLVED DISTRICT PPP COMMITTEES AND REAPPOINTED A FULL SLATE OF NEW PARTY OFFICIALS.

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6. FOR THE RECORD, BHUTTO HAD ARRIVED IN QUETTA OCT 13 ACCOMPANIED BY ABDUL HAFIZ PIRZADA, MINISTER FOR PROVINCIAL COORDINATION, AND COMMERCE MINISTER RAFI RAZA. HE WAS MET BY ARMY CHIEF GENERAL TIKKA KHAN AND PROVINCIAL DIGNITARIES. HE HELD TWO MEETINGS THAT DAY, ON ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND LAW AND ORDER. THE FOLLOWING DAY THE PRIME MINISTER FLEW TO KOHLU, HEADQUARTERS TOWN OF THE MARRI-BUGTI TRIBAL AGENCY, WHERE HE ADDRESSED TWO PUBLIC GATHERINGS ON THE INIQUITIES OF THE SARDARI SYSTEM (AND OF CERTAIN, BUT NOT ALL, SARDARS). HE FORGAVE AND RECEIVED THE ARMS OF TWO PROMINENT MARRI INSURGENTS, WHO ALONG WITH OTHER PENITENTS PLEDGED LOYALTY TO PAKISTAN WITH THEIR HANDS ON THE QURAN. BHUTTO ALSO STOPPED AT A MARRI RELIEF/REHABILITATION CENTER AND AT THE OIL DRILLING SITE NEAR BARKHAN IN LORALAI DISTRICT (WHERE AMOCO HOPES TO BEHIN OPERATIONS SOON). IN HIS OCT 16 PRESS CONFERENCE, BHUTTO ANNOUNCED THAT SINCE THE MARRI INSURGENCY HAD ABATED DRILLING WOULD BEGIN IN DECEMBER. HE ENDED A LONG DAY WITH A QUETTA SPEECH TO THE BALUCHISTAN LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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BAR ASSOCIATION, IN WHICH HE REVIEWED CONSTITUTIONAL PROGRESS UNDER HIS REGIME, CITED THE NEED TO BRING BALCUHISTAN UP TO PAR WITH THE OTHER PROVINCES, ATTACKED THE OPPOSITION FOR ITS FALSEHOODS AND FOREIGN TIES, AND DENIED THAT HE WAS MANEUVERING TO INSTALL A RULING PARTY MINISTRY IN THE PROVINCE. BHUTTO FLEW TO KALAT AND KHUZDAR

IN THE JHALAWAN (MENGAL) AREA OCT 15, WHERE HE AGAIN ALLEGED THAT KABUL AND HIS DOMESTIC OPPONENTS WERE WORKING TOGETHER TO UNDERMINE NATIONAL UNITY AND PLEDGED THAT ANY FOREIGN INTERVENTION WOULD BE MET WITH "A CRUSHING REPLY". NUMEROUS MENGALS PLEDGED LOYALTY TO PAKISTAN. THE PRIME MINISTER THEN RETURNED TO QUETTA, ANNOUNCED THE "HAPPY NEWS" OF THE INSURGENCY END, AND FLEW ON TO LARKANA ON OCT 16 TO CELEBRATE EID AT HOME. GOVERNOR MIR AHMED YAR KHAN AND CHIEF MINISTER JAM QADIR ATTENDED ALL OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S MEETINGS IN QUETTA. THE GOVERNOR WENT WITH BHUTTO TO JHALAWAN AND THE MARRI AREA.

7. COMMENT: BHUTTO'S CLAIM THAT A "TURNING POINT" HAS BEEN REACHED IN BALUCHISTAN APPEARS VALID. THE COMBINATION OF THE AMNESTY OFFER, ARMY ACTION, AND FEDERAL LARGESSE (SOME DEVELOPMENT FUNDS ARE PAID DIRECTLY TO LOYAL, LESSER SARDARS) HAS SHARPLY REDUCED THE SCOPE OF INSURGENT ACTIVITY. THE COMING COLD WEATHER WILL FURTHER INHIBIT BOTH INSURGENT AND ARMY OPERATIONS. THE UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT APPEARS SO WEAK, HAPLESS AND SO EASILY DISCREDITED THAT BHUTTO IS UNDER NO PRESSURE WHATEVER TO NEGOTIATE WITH IT; HE WILL INSTEAD CONTINUE HIS LONG-TERM EFFORTS TO BUILD UP A VIABLE PPP PRESENCE IN THE PROVINCE. BHUTTO EVIDENTLY INTENDS TO CONTINUE THROUGH THE WINTER WITH THE PROVINCIAL POLICIES AND MINISTRY WHICH HAVE SERVED HIM ADEQUATEDLY, IF NOT WELL. HE WILL COUNT ON ARMY CIVIC ACTION PROJECTS FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN THE TROUBLED AREA, WHERE CIVIL ADMINISTRATION IS VIRTUALLY NON-EXISTENT. COME SPRING, WHEN THE POLITICAL TEMPO PICKS UP AGAIN, WE ASSUME HE WILL SURVEY THE POLITICAL TERRAIN ANEW AND WEIGH THE POSSIBLE ADVANTAGES OF A PROVINCIAL CABINET RESHUFFLE OR GOVERNOR'S RULE AND NEW ELECTIONS, PERHAPS NATIONAL AS WELL AS PROVINCIAL.

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: PARAMILITARY FORCES, AMNESTY, PROVINCE, BALUCHISTAN, PRESS CONFERENCES
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 17 OCT 1974
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: shawdg
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1974KARACH02081
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D740295-0718
From: KARACHI
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1974/newtext/t19741040/aaaabhrij.tel
Line Count: 264
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION NEA
Original Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: ISLAMABAD 8907, 9714, 9716 (NOTAL)
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: shawdg
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 12 JUN 2002
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <12 JUN 2002 by boyleja>; APPROVED <19 MAR 2003 by shawdg>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: BHUTTO ANNOUNCES END OF BALUCHISTAN INSURGENCY
TAGS: PFOR, PINS, PINT, PK, AF, (BHUTTO, ALI)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005